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121 772 769 114 tive difficulties indicating the empirical limits of analysis in the framework of a sacred-profane dichotomization of the Mapuche world view. But this actually leaves very much to be desired since the limits of analysis seem to be reached or approached at the outset.

121 772 114 754 756 From a number of examples of this kind of difficulty which suggest themselves, I select the possible classification of shamans as sacred and sorcerers as profane. With respect to the Mapuche, this classification is pointless, even if a possible interpretation according to Durkheimian logic, since both shamans and sorcerers have a numinous quality and since even sorcerers, although clearly evil on most occasions and in most contexts, operate on the positive side of the moral universe when called upon to exact vengeance. Durkheimian thinking would probably deny such an interpretation, but the alternative route it suggests is, I feel, unattractive and dangerous. Not the least reason for this is that it would take one entirely outside the limits of Mapuche thinking or traditional reasoning, the relationship between the conceptual model and its empirical foundation becoming most tenuous. Again, with reference to the way Mapuche express themselves, sacred phenomena are good, but not all good is sacred. Sacred-profane and good-evil concepts actually cut across one another when unadulterated Durkheimian reasoning is brought to bear on them.

121 772 812 The value of any concept of anthropology is measured by its usefulness in understanding and ordering social and cultural phenomena. Since these phenomena are social and cultural and do not exist in a vacuum, they must be ordered in correspondence to the manner in which they are viewed by the people themselves. This is not to say that the Mapuche need visualize a total structural order, but that their partial, piecemeal, and seemingly orderless views be consistent with whatever conceptual order is imposed upon their social and cultural system by the anthropologist. I take my cue, therefore, from the Mapuche themselves.

The interpretative difficulties of the sacred profane approach are resolvable once it is recognized that the underlying motif of Mapuche thought is not a comprehensive good-evil or sacred-profane set of references but, rather, a dualistic world view into

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which good-evil, sacred-profane, and other subclassifications are subsumable as relative and partial expressions of the total order of society. Numerous sets of value symbols are amenable to arrangement consistent with Mapuche notions of this dualistic ordering of the universe, and, of especial interest to me, the structure of symbolic values may be related significantly to the ordering of social institutions.

The Concepts of "Handedness" and Complementary Dualism

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The most comprehensive theoretical framework for this kind of analysis has been suggested by Robert Hertz, a student of Durkheim, and more recently has been refined and applied to great advantage by Rodney Needham in the analysis of Indonesian and African material. Hertz deals with the phenomena of complementary opposition in his essay, "The Pre-eminence of the Right Hand: A Study of Religious Polarity" (1960), and noted that in many if not all societies "honors, designations, perogatives," were accorded to the right hand, whereas the left hand held an ancillary if not despised position. Enlarging on this theme, Needham writes:

> The symbolic opposition of right and left and a dualistic categorization of phenomena are so common as to seem natural proclivities of the human mind. What is to be noted here is the particular way in which these notions are symbolically related to the divisions of . . . [a particular] society . . . (1960:97).

The theoretical interest which underlies this kind of analysis is phrased by Needham as follows:

> . . . to determine through a consideration of symbolic usages whether or not there are more abstract structural principles underlying both social relations . . . and other aspects of . . . culture which are not obviously connected with them (1960:89).

The result may provide a "total structural analysis."

Whether it does or not would seem to depend on the type of descent system and the structural relations surrounding marriage. Needham suggests that the relationship between value system and social structure is most complete and significant in societies organized around systems of prescriptive alliance and